

Message Text

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FILE; TELEGRAM TEXT FOR THIS SEGMENT IS UNAVAILABLE

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ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-13 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-02 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12

NEA-10 GAC-01 TRSE-00 SAI-01 OIC-04 AEC-11 ACDA-19

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P R 011639 Z JUN 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9081

INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

ALL MBFR CAPITALS 542

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USDEL SALT TWO II

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FROM US REP MBFR

IN THE COMMUNIQUE SENTENCE ON INTRODUCING TOPICS FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS. RATHER, WHETHER IT WAS DROPPED WAS UP TO THE WEST. TURKISH REP COMMENTED TO THE GROUP THAT, IN HIS VIEW, IF THE WEST CONTINUES TO PRESS ON THE " BALANCED" ISSUE AND ON THE DATE, BUT REMAINS FLEXIBLE ON OTHER ITEMS, AN AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED WITH THE EAST. TURKISH REP ERMINDED GROUP THAT KHLESTOV HAD SAID THAT IF THE WEST DID NOT SHOW FLEXIBILITY THE EAST WAS PREPARED TO STAY IN VIENNA FOR MONTHS.

5. US REP REPORTED A CONVERSATION HE AND FRG REP HAD HAD WITH ROMANIAN REP IN WHICH CONSTANTINESCU HAD STRESSED THAT ROMANIAN

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ACHIEVEMENT EMBODIED IN PARA 6 OF THE PROCEDURES AND PARTICIPATION PAPER GIVING ALL PARTICIPANTS THE RIGHT TO RAISE TOPICS RELEVANT TO THE SUBJECT MATTER, WAS BEING MANAGED BY WORDING IN THE DRAFT COMMUNIQUE WHICH SET FORTH A SPECIAL RIGHT FOR DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO RAISE TOPICS FOR NEGOTIATIONS. ROMANIAN REP THEREFORE ARGUED THAT LAST PHRASE OF THIS SENTENCE STATING THAT THIS WAS RIGHT OF SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS ONLY. US REP HAD EXPLAINED THAT WEST WAS REQUIRED BY INSTRUCTIONS TO GET ITS AGENDA ITEMS AS TOPICS FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE HAD ALSO DRAWN A DISTINCTION, WHICH SEEMED NEW TO ROMANIAN REP, BETWEEN RAISING SUBJECT FOR DISCUSSION AND RAISING THEM FOR NEGOTIATION, POINTING OUT THAT UNDER PRESENT PROCEDURES, A CONSENSUS OF DECISION- MAKING STATES WOULD BE REQUIRED TO AGREE TO NEGOTIATING ON A TOPIC RAISED. IN VIEW OF THE FACT IT HAD PROVED IMPOSSIBLE TO AGREE ON AGENDA, THE WEST WANTED TO EXPAND ITS GENERAL RIGHT TO RAISE MATTERS FOR DISCUSSION TO ENSURE THAT WESTERN AGENDA ITEMS WILL BE TOPICS FOR NEGOTIATIONS AND NOT JUST DISCUSSION. US REP HAD EXPLAINED THAT THE WEST WOULD IN ADDITION NOT WISH A SITUATION WHERE PARTICIPANTS WHO WERE NOT POTENTIAL SIGNATORIES OF AGREEMENTS COULD COMPEL SUCH POTENTIAL SIGNATORIES TO ACTUALLY NEGOTIATE ON SPECIFIC TOPICS ON WHICH SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS THEMSELVES BECAUSE OF THEIR STATUS WERE NOT RPT NOT PREPARED TO ASSUME OBLIGATIONS. CONSTANTINESCU HAD FIRST OBJECTED STRONGLY BUT THEN, AFTER SOME ORATORY, HAD SEEMED MORE RECONCILED TO THE SITUATION. US REP THEN TOLD GROUP THAT IN ACCORDANCE WITH HIS INSTRUCTIONS FROM WASHINGTON (STATE 103068) HE HAD MET BILATERALLY WITH KHLESTOV AFTER THE QUADRILATERAL MEETING OF MAY 30 TO STRESS THAT US COULD NOT ACCEPT A DATE LATER THAN OCTOBER 30. KHLESTOV HAD RESPONDED THAT THIS POSED A BIG PROBLEM. US REP HAD SAID THAT KHLESTOV SHOULD REPORT THE US POSITION TO HIS AUTHORITIES AT ONCE, SINCE US EXPECTED A REPLY SOON. KHLESTOV HAD SAID HE WOULD DO SO.

6. UK REP (THOMSON) REPORTED THAT HE, TOO, HAD BEEN APPROACHED BY CONSTANTINESCU AND THAT ROMANIAN HAD OBJECTED TO LAST PHRASE IN SENTENCE ON INTRODUCING TOPICS FOR NEGOTIATIONS. UK REP HAD REPLIED THAT ROMANIAN RIGHTS WERE FULLY PROTECTED IN THE PREVIOUS AGREEMENT ON PROCEDURES AND PARTICIPATIONS. IF ROMANIA DID NOT WANT TO ASSUME THE RESPONSIBILITY OF A DIRECT PARTICIPANT IT COULD NOT EXPECT TO ENJOY THE RIGHTS

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OF A DIRECT PARTICIPANT. IN CONTRAST, UK REP HAD SAID, INCLUSION OF THE PHRASE IN THE COMMUNIQUE WAS A VITAL POINT FOR THE WEST.

7. MAY 30 INFORMAL MEETING: AFTER READING REPORT OF MAY 30

MEETING WITH SOVIET AND CZECH REPS, PREPARED AND CIRCULATED BY US REP, NETHERLANDS REP (QUALRES) REMARKED THERE DID NOT APPEAR TO BE ANY GIVE ON THE EASTERN SIDE ON THE QUESTIONS OF DATE AND BALANCE. WHILE THE DATE WOULD REQUIRE INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE NAC, THE ALLIED EMISSARIES COULD CONTINUE TO ADHERE TO THE TERM " BALANCED" WHILE CONSIDERING PROSPECTIVE TRADE- OFFS FOR IT. REMAINING FIRM ON THE " BALANCED" ISSUE GIVES THE WEST AT PRESENT A STRONG POSITION ON MANY POINTS. NETHERLANDS REP THEN QUESTIONED NATURE OF PROGRESS MADE ON THE ISSUE OF INTRODUCING TOPICS FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE EAST HAD EARLIER SAID THAT THEY DID NOT RAISE OBJECTIONS ON PROCEDURAL GROUNDS BUT THAT A QUESTION WOULD BE DECIDED ON THE BASIS OF ITS INTRINSIC MERIT. US REP SAID THAT THIS ISSUE IS RELATED TO THE DISTINCTION HE HAD DRAWN FOR CONSTANTINESCU. AT PRESENT THE WEST DID NOT HAVE AGREEMENT WITH THE EAST ON THE AGENDA BUT IT HAD INSTRUCTIONS TO PROTECT WESTERN INTEREST ON THE AGENDA FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE PRESENT WORDING OF THE COMMUNIQUE PROTECTS THIS AND PRECLUDES THE EAST FROM STARTING A PROCEDURAL DEBATE, EXCEPT ON THE BASIS OF RELEVANCE TO THE SUBJECT MATTER, WHEN THE WEST RAISES ISSUED FOR NEGOTIATION.

8. NETHERLANDS REP PROPOSED THAT THE PHRASE " DISCUSSED AND DECIDED ON" BE ADDED TO THE SENTENCE ON INTRODUCING TOPICS FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS. UK REP COMMENTED THAT BOTH SIDES PROBABLY HAVE THE SAME UNDERSTANDING OF THE ISSUE. IN HIS VIEW, THE LANGUAGE PROPOSED EARLIER BY THE SOVIETS WAS SATISFACTORY. NOW IT HAS APPEARED IN WRITING AND THE EAST UNDERSTANDS THAT THEY ARE NOT ENTITLED TO OBJECT TO WESTERN NEGOTIATION TOPICS. NETHERLANDS REP POINTED OUT THAT THIS WAS NOT A CONCESSION ON THE EASTERN SIDE AND THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD ENDEAVOR TO KEEP THE LANGUAGE IN BRACKETS SINCE THE EAST WANTS IT. US REP COMMENTED THAT THE PHRASE WAS NOT A CONCESSION TO THE EASTERN SIDE AND THE ALLIES NEEDED A STATEMENT IN THE COMMUNIQUE TO PROTECT WESTERN RIGHTS.

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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIOTIY 9082

INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY 543

ALL MBFR CAPITALS 543

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR

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USDEL SALT TWO II

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FROM US REP MBFR

9. NETHERLANDS REP ASKED WHETHER ALLIED EMISSARIES HAD ATTEMPTED TO USE " METHOD OF NEGOTIATIONS" INSTEAD OF " APPROACH" IN FORMULATING THE COMMUNIQUE SENTENCE ON COMPLEXITY. US AND UK REPS REPLIED THAT THEY HAD BUT THAT THEY PREFERRED " APPROACH" AND EAST HAD AGREED TO IT. FRG POINTED OUT THAT SENTENCE ON COMPLEXITY MUST BE VIEWED IN CONNECTION WITH THE FOLLOWING SENTENCE WHERE " BALANCED" WOULD BE USED. HE PROPOSED THAT ALLIED EMISSARIES MAKE USE OF KHLESTOV' S WORDING (VIENNA 4527, PARA 10) WHICH REFERRED TO MOVING STEP BY STEP ON A PROCEDURAL BASIS. UK REP AGREED WITH FRG REP THAT BOTH SENTENCES TOGETHER COVER THE STEP BY STEP APPROACH AND THAT THE TERM " BALANCED"

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REFERS TO BALANCE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AS WELL AS IN THE CARRYING OUT OF THE RESULT OF THE AGREEMENTS.

10. ITALIAN REP (TALIANI) NOTED THAT KHLESTOV HAD SAID THAT NETOTIATIONS WERE NOW PROCEEDING ON THE COMMUNIQUE AS A PACKAGE. ACCORDINGLY, ALLIES SHOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT THE EAST CANNOT ACCEPT PART OF THE PACKAGE WITHOUT THE WHOLE. THE DATE REMAINS A BLANK. THEREFORE, IN CONTINUING THE DISCUSSION WITH THE EAST, THE ALLIED EMISSARIES SHOULD NOT GIVE GROUND UNTIL THEY HAVE A CLEAR IDEA OF THE SOVIET POSITION ON A DATE. FURTHER, HE SAID, THE ALLIED POSITION ON PHASING SEEMED TO HAVE BEEN " PHASED OUT" OF THE COMMUNIQUE AND THE TERM APPROACH TO HIM APPEARED LOADED. ITALIAN REP EXPRESSED SKEPTICISM OVER KHLESTOV' S EXPLANATION OF WORKING BODIES AND SUGGESTED THAT ALLIED EMISSARIES MAKE IT CLEAR TO SOVIETS THAT

SOME WESTERN ALLIES OBJECT TO A DISTINCTION BETWEEN WORKING GROUPS AND BODIES. HE NOTED THAT IT HAS BEEN A LONG- STANDING TACTIC OF THE SOVIETS TO GET A POINT AND THEN SEEK TO CONSOLIDATE THEIR POSITION. THE WEST SHOULD THEREFORE BE FIRM AT THIS STAGE. ON THE QUESTION OF INTRODUCTION OF TOPICS FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS, ITALIAN REP FELT THAT PRESENT WORDING WAS ACCEPTABLE. IN ANY EVENT, ALLIES SHOULD ATTEMPT TO MAKE THIS AN ISSUE FOR THE SOVIETS.

11. REVIEW OF MAY 30 DREFT COMMUNIQUE: CHAIRMAN (THOMSON, UK REP) TURNED GROUP TO POINT BY POINT REVIEW OF LATEST VERSION OF DRAFT COMMUNIQUE WHICH EMERGED FROM MAY 30 MEETING OF US, UK, SOVIET, AND CZECH REPS. CHAIRMAN NOTED THE GENERAL CONSENSUS TO STAND FIRM ON THE TERM " BALANCED."

12. ON SEVENTH SENTENCE, US REP EXPRESSED HIS OPPOSITION TO THE ITALIAN REP'S PROPOSAL TO WORK IN A REFERENCE TO THE AGENDA, SAYING THAT TO TRY TO INSERT THE TERM " AGENDA" INTO THE PRESENT LANGUAGE WOULD WORK AGAINST WESTERN INTERESTS. TO DO SO WOULD MEAN THAT AN AGENDA WOULD HAVE TO EXIST BEFORE ANY INDIVIDUAL SUBJECT COULD BE DISCUSSED. THIS WOULD GRATUITOUSLY GIVE SOVIETS ADDITIONAL PROCEDURAL GROUND FOR PREDICTABLE EFFORTS TO BLOCK SERIOUS DISCUSSION OF WESTERN NEGOTIATION TOPICS. SINCE THERE WAS NOW NO AGENDA AND SINCE THERE MIGHT NEVER BE ONE IN THE FORMAL SENSE, REFERENCE TO AN AGENDA IN THIS CONTEXT SHOULD BE AVOIDED.

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13. US REP REMARKED THAT WEST MIGHT HAVE BEEN IN A BETTER POSITION TACTICALLY IF IT HAD PUT BRACKETS AROUND SENTENCE ON WORKING GROUPS SINCE THIS WAS AFTER ALL A SOVIET INTEREST. TO ATTEMPT TO DO SO NOW WOULD PROBABLY TRIGGER SOVIET THREATS TO REOPEN OTHER ASPECTS AGAINST WESTERN INTEREST. SOVIETS OBVIOUSLY HAVE INSTRUCTIONS TO GET REFERENCE TO WORKING BODIES INTO THE COMMUNIQUE. THE PRESENT SITUATION DID HAVE SOME ADVANTAGES, HOWEVER: ALLIES ARE OF COURSE AWARE OF THE INTENT OF THE SOVIETS TO DIVIDE SPECIAL AND DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, AND THE WEST KNOWS THAT IT CAN EXPECT THE SOVIETS TO RAISE THE QUESTION OF CREATING A SINGEL GROUP COMPOSED OF DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. WITH THE PRESENT LANGUAGE IN THE PLUARAL, HOWEVER, THE WEST HAS THE ADVANTAGE OF BEING ABLE TO ARGUE THAT IT HAS ALREADY BEEN AGREED TO CREATE SEVERAL WORKING GROUPS RATHER THAN ONE. UK REP AGREED WITH US REP.

14. TURKISH REP AT THIS POINT READ INSTRUCTIONS HE HAD RECENTLY BUT BELATEDLY RECEIVED FROM ANKARA WHICH PRECLUDED HIM FROM MAKING A COMMITMENT ON THE COMMUNIQUE UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE. IN THE MEANTIME, HIS AUTHORITIES HAD MADE CLEAR THAT THEY COULD NOT ACCEPT USE OF THE TERM " STRATEGIC" IN THE DESIGNATION OF THE TALKS CONTAINED IN THE COMMUNIQUE. NOR COULD

THEY ACCEPT REFERENCE TO A WORKING GROUP OR BODY IN THE SINGULAR. LASTLY, THEY HAD MISGIVINGS ABOUT THE BRACKETED LANGUAGE IN SENTENCE 7 AND FELT THAT THERE MAY BE A NEED TO REFER TO THE GENERALIZED RIGHTS OF ALL PARTICIPANTS. TURKISH REP NOTED MOST OF THESE POINTS HAD ALREADY BEEN MET BY ALLIED NEGOTIATORS.

15. SYG'S MESSAGE OF MAY 30: CHAIRMAN READ TEXT OF MESSAGE FROM SYG. FIRST PARAGRAPH STATED THAT COMMUNIQUE WOULD INCLUDE THE DATE AND THAT IF RESISTANCE TO THIS IS ENCOUNTERED WITH THE EAST, THE MATTER SHOULD BE REFERRED BACK TO THE NAC. CHAIRMAN COMMENTED THAT ALLIES ARE PRESENTLY FULFILLING THIS PORTION OF THE MESSAGE. THE ONLY PROBLEM IS THAT THE EAST IS NOT PREPARED AT THIS POINT TO REPLY TO THE WESTERN PROPOSAL. THUS, CHAIRMAN CONCLUDED THAT AS REGARDS PARAGRAPH 1 OF SYG MESSAGE, NOTHING MORE NEEDS TO BE DONE.

16. PARAGRAPH 2, CHAIRMAN SAID, REPORTED THE VIEW OF THE
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COUNCIL THAT THE COMMUNIQUE SHOULD BE DISCUSSED AND PRESENTED IN PLENARY MEETINGS. BELGIAN REP COMMENTED THAT THE SOVIETS ARE AT PRESENT MAKING IT IMPOSSIBLE TO DEAL WITH THE ISSUE IN PLENARY SINCE THEY DID NOT AGREE TO A PLENARY THIS WEEK. ITALIAN REP SAID THAT THE PRESENT LOBBYING EXERCISE ON THE COMMUNIQUE CAN NOT LAST MUCH LONGER BECAUSE IT WILL SOON RUN OUT OF MATERIAL AND LEAVE ONLY A FEW BLANKS TO BE FILLED IN. WEST MUST THEN CONSIDER THE TACTICAL WISDOM OF BALING THE COMMUNIQUE, WITH THE REMAINING

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*** Current Classification *** SECRET

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TAGS: PFOR, AU, n/a
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BELGRADE
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USLOSACLANT

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